

New York Tribune

BY HORACE GREELEY.

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THE TRIBUNE.

NEW-YORK, WEDNESDAY MORNING, JUNE 30, 1841.

From the Allgemeine Zeitung.

On the German Zoll Verein, or Commercial Union, WITH REFERENCE TO DR. BOWING'S REPORT.

What a great nation, in the present age, is without an efficient system of commercial policy, and what it may become by such a system, Germany has learned by self-experience within these last twenty years. This country had long been, what Franklin once described New-Jersey to be, a nation tapped and drawn off by its neighbors on every side. England, not content with having ruined the greater part of the German manufacturers and with having overwhelmed us with immense quantities of woollen and cotton goods and colonial produce, repelled from her shores our corn and timber, and occasionally even our wool. There was a period when the consumption of English manufactures was in Germany four times greater than in her much boasted Indian empire; and yet the monopolizing islanders would not allow us poor Germans the advantages they concede to their subject Hindoos, in paying for the manufactures we need in agricultural produce. In vain did the Germans debate themselves until they became hoovers of wood and drawers of water for the proud Britons; they were used worse than a subjugated people. Nations, like individuals, if they once allow themselves to be created, will soon be despised by every body, and become the sport even of children. France, not content with laying Germany under contribution for excessive quantities of wine, oil, silk, and fashionable trinkets, also obstructs the disposal of our cattle, corn, and linen. Even a small machine produced by Germany, and still inhabited and governed by Germans—a produce grown rich and powerful through Germany, on which it ever most depend, closed, for half a generation, after the general peace, the best river of Germany, under the pretext of some wretched quibbles, and against the avowed interpretation of the said treaties. To crown the mockery, it was at the same time constantly incultured from the chairs of a hundred professors, that nations could only be made rich and powerful by universal commercial freedom.—Thus was it then with us; how is it now?

Within these ten years Germany has made the advance of a century in welfare and industry, in the feeling of self-dependence, and in national energy. And why? That those revenue barons, which separated Germans from Germans, should be leveled, was well and good; but poor would have been the consolation thus afforded to the nation, had industry still been left exposed to foreign competition.—It was mainly the protection which the system of the Zoll Verein secured to the manufacturers of articles of general consumption that worked the wonder.

We must frankly acknowledge that Dr. Bowring has irretrievably proved that the Zoll Verein does not, as has been alleged, impose mere revenue duties—that it is not limited to between 10 and 15 per cent., as Huskinson believed; we say plainly, that in respect of articles of general consumption, it secures protecting duties of from 20 to 60 per cent. But how have these duties operated? Do the consumers pay from 20 to 60 per cent. more for German manufactures than they formerly did for foreign, as according to the theory they should? Or are the German goods worse than the foreign? No means. Dr. Bowring himself bears testimony to the fact, that the German manufactures, which are protected by high tariff duties, are better and sold on more reasonable terms than the like foreign articles. The internal competition with security against the distressing effects of foreign competition has worked this miracle, of which the economists of the Free Trade school know nothing, and nothing wills to know. The proposition which that school maintains is before not true—namely, that a protecting duty enhances to the amount of such duty the price of the home manufacture thereby protected. For a short time indeed it may raise such an increase of price, but in every country that has a proper capacity for becoming a manufacturing nation internal competition must, under a system of protection, speedily bring down the price lower than it stood when free importation prevailed.

Well, then, has our agriculture suffered any detriment from the high tariff? Quite the contrary. It has gained—a manifold gain, during the last ten years. The demand for agricultural produce has increased, and the prices have every where risen. It is notorious, too, that, in consequence of the prosperity of our home manufactures, the value of landed property has every where experienced an increase of from 50 to 100 per cent. Daily labor is every where better paid, and on all hands improved means of conveyance are in progress to completion or projected. Nevertheless, some States of the Union continue to look to the repeal of the English duties on corn and timber for their salvation, and there are also some wealthy and influential men, who, distrusting their own experience, still put faith in the cosmopolitan crowd. On the part of the question, as well as on the relations of the German Commercial Union, and the tactics of the English Government, most important disclosures are afforded by Dr. Bowring's report. Let us try to cast some light on that document.

In the first place, we must notice the point of view in accordance with which the whole report has been drawn up. Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, sent Dr. Bowring to Germany for the same purpose that Mr. Poulett Thompson dispatched him to France in 1834; for, as the French were to be influenced by concessions with respect to wine and brandy, so it was expected that the Germans would be induced, on account of concessions with respect to corn and timber, to throw open their market to English manufactures. There existed, however, an important distinction between the two missions; namely, that the concessions which were to be offered to the French were exposed to little or no opposition, while those which were to be offered to Germany were first to be fought for and determined by the result of a contest in England. This necessarily rendered the character of the two reports entirely different. The report on the commercial relations between France and England was exclusively addressed to the French people. To them, or rather to their theorists and theorizing practicalists, it might be said that Colbert gained nothing important by his protective measures; they might be induced to believe that the mercantile system and the present prohibitive system have proved extremely injurious. In short, the Adam Smith theory might here be adhered to without any qualification. The success of the protective system might be thoroughly, and without ceremony, denied.

The subject could not be so easily dealt with in the latter report, for it now became necessary to address both the English land-owners and the German Governments at one and the same time. To the farmer it was to be said—"You have seen a nation which, in consequence of protective measures, has already made immense progress in manufactures, and which, being in possession of all the necessary means, is now advancing with rapid strides to that state of prosperity which will enable her completely to command her

own internal market and to compete with England in foreign markets; you lords in the upper house, you squires in the lower, this is your infatuated work—this is what your insane Corn Bill has done, for by it the prices of food, of the raw material, and of wages have been kept down in Germany, by it the German manufacturers have gained an insupportable position against the English. Hasten, to rapacious landlords, to get rid of this Corn Bill; you will thereby give a twofold—a threefold discouragement to the German manufacturers; first, because the price of food, of the raw material and of wages would rise in Germany and fall in England; secondly, because the import of German corn and timber into England will cause the export of English manufactures to Germany; thirdly, because the German Commercial Union has manifested a disposition to lower the tariff on common cotton and woollen goods in the same proportion as England may reduce her import duties on corn and timber. Thus we cannot fail of success in again depressing the German manufacturers. But you must be prompt. Every year the manufacturing interest acquires an increased influence within the union, and if you delay, the repeal of your corn law will come too late. In a short while the scale will be turned; the German manufacturers will soon create so great a demand for agricultural produce that Germany will have no corn to spare for foreign countries. What concessions will you then offer to the German Governments in order to induce them to destroy their own manufactures, in order to prevent them from spinning their own cotton, and thereby coming into competition with you to your disadvantage in all foreign markets?"

It was necessary for the author of the report to press this view on the land-owners in Parliament. The forms under which the British Administration conducts affairs permits no secret Chamberlain report. Dr. Bowring's report could not be withheld from the British public, and of course it could not fail to come through translations or extracts to the knowledge of the Germans. Every word which might lead Germans to a perception of their true interests was in this account to be carefully avoided, while every medicine calculated to operate on the British Parliament required, as a necessary accompaniment, a counteracting dose for the German Governments. They must therefore be told that their protective measures had forced German capital into wrong channels; that the agricultural interests of Germany were seriously injured by the protecting system; that the agriculturists must look to foreign markets for the disposal of their produce; that agriculture is by far the most important branch of industry in Germany, since three-fourths of the population are cultivators of the soil; that to talk of protection for producers is mere idle prattle; that even a manufacturing interest itself cannot be truly established without foreign competition; that the aspirations of public opinion in Germany are all for free trade; that knowledge is too well diffused in Germany to allow a prejudice in favor of high duties to prevail; that the best informed men of the country advocate a reduction of the duties on cotton and woollen stuffs; "if the English lower their duties on corn and timber." In short, this report gives utterance to two entirely different voices, which contend as two antagonists. Which is the voice of truth—that speaking to the British Parliament, or that speaking to the German Governments? The decision is not difficult; for what Dr. Bowring says to induce the Parliament to reduce the duties on corn and timber is supported by statistical facts, calculations, and documentary evidence, whereas what he says to induce the German Governments to abandon the protective system consists entirely of superficial assertions.

Let us now consider in some detail the arguments whereby Dr. Bowring demonstrates to the British Parliament that in case the German protective system should not receive a check in the way proposed by him, the German market for manufactures will be irretrievably lost to England.

The German people are said by Dr. Bowring to be distinguished for frugality, economy, and intelligence; they enjoy the advantage of a very general instruction; excellent polytechnic schools spread technical knowledge over the whole country; the art of design is more cultivated than in England; the great annual increase of the population, of the article, and in particular of sheep, proves to what a high agriculture is carried (of the rise in the value of land, a main point, no mention is made); and so with regard to the increased price of produce; the wages of labor have risen 30 per cent. in the manufacturing districts; the country has a superfluity of unemployed water power, the cheapest of all motive forces. Mining was never before so prosperous an undertaking as it now is. We may refer, giving round numbers only, to the following instances of increase from 1832 to 1837:

	Cwt.	Cwt.
On imports of raw cotton, from.....	118,000	240,000
On imports of cotton yarn.....	172,000	322,000
On exports of woollen goods.....	26,000	75,000
On imports of sheep's wool.....	29,000	195,000
On exports of ditto.....	100,000	122,000
On imports of woollen cloth.....	15,000	18,000
On exports of ditto.....	49,000	60,000
On the number of looms for weaving cotton in Prussia, from 1825 to 1834.....	22,000	32,000

The linen manufacture has had to contend against the high duties in England, France, and Italy, and, therefore, has not increased. On the contrary, the imports of linen yarn exhibit a rise of from 30,000 cwt. in 1832 to 86,000 cwt. in 1837, supplied chiefly from England, and the demand is constantly on the increase. The indigo consumed in 1831 amounted to 12,000 cwt. and in 1837 to 24,000 cwt., a striking proof of the progress of German manufactures. The exports of common earthenware had doubled from 1832 to 1836; the imports of the white, or one-colored kind, had fallen from 5,000 cwt. to 2,000 cwt., while the exports of the same kind had risen from 4,000 cwt. to 10,000 cwt. The porcelain imports had diminished from 4,000 cwt. to 1,000 cwt., while the exports had risen from 700 to 4,000 cwt. The produce of the coal mines increased from 6,000,000 of Prussian tons in 1832 to 9,000,000 in 1836. In 1816 Prussia possessed 3,000,000 sheep; in 1837, 15,000,000. In 1831 Saxony had 14,000 stocking-frames; in 1836, 20,000. From 1831 to 1837 the number of factories for spinning woollen yarn and of spindles increased more than two-fold. Manufactures of machinery have risen up every where, and many of them are in a flourishing state. In short, it is admitted that all branches of industry in Germany have made immense progress in proportion as they have been protected, particularly woollen and cotton stuffs for common wear, the importation of which from England has entirely ceased. However, Dr. Bowring, referring to an opinion worthy of credit says—"In a report which I have been furnished with by a very intelligent practical manufacturer, as to the comparative position of the British and the Prussian manufacture, he states, after a detailed examination of woollen cloths imported, that the price of the Prussian cloth was decidedly lower; that some of the colors are inferior to those of our best dyes, while others could not be excelled, being perfect; the spinning, weaving, and earlier processes of the manufacture are quite equal to the British; that in the finishing there is a marked inferiority, there being much less adaptation to taste and to demand; but that generally the deficiencies are such as experience would vanquish."

The reporter, however, is completely in error when he contends that the German manufacturing interest requires for its own advantage foreign competition in the German market, inasmuch as when the German manufacturer shall be able to supply his own market, he must come into competition with the foreign manufacturer for the disposal of his surplus, which competition can only be maintained by cheap production; but cheap production is irreconcilable with the principle of the protective system, since the object of that system is to secure a high price to the manufacturer. In this argument there are about as many errors and sophisms as words. Dr. Bowring will not deny that the cheapness of production depends on the extent to which manufacture is carried, and the certainty of a market for it; nor that a manufacturing power already provided with a market at home will be so much the more able to work cheaply for the foreigner. Proof of this is to be found in the very tables which he gives on the progress of German industry, for in the same proportion as the German manufacturers have gained the ascendancy in their own market, have the exports of their goods increased. Thus, then, the young experience of Ger-

many, like the old experience of England, teaches that a high price for manufactured goods is by no means a necessary consequence of protection. In fine, German industry is still far from being able to supply the home market. In order to accomplish that object we have yet to manufacture the 13,000,000 of cotton goods, the 13,000,000 of woollen cloth, and the 500,000,000 of cotton yarn and twist, and linen yarn, which we at present import from England. This being done we will then increase our imports of cotton and wool done by 500,000,000, which will bring us into a more direct commercial intercourse with the countries of the torrid zone, and enable us to pay for the greater part, if not for the whole of this necessary raw material, with our own manufactures.

It is easy to conceive how the English Parliament may at last be induced, by representations such as those contained in this report to depart from its Corn Law, which has hitherto operated as a protection against Germany; but to us it is in the highest degree incomprehensible how the German union, which has made such immense advances in consequence of its protective measures, should be prevailed on by the same report to renounce so advantageous a system. It is true Dr. Bowring assures us that the German manufacturers are protected at the cost of the landed interest; but how can we give credit to his assertions when we find that the demand for agricultural produce, the price of that produce, the wages of labor, rents, and the value of land, have every where increased? Dr. Bowring gives a calculation, according to which there are three agriculturists to one manufacturer in Germany; but at the same time he shows that the number of the German manufacturers still bears by no means in proportion to the number of agriculturists. Now it is not conceivable how an equilibrium can be introduced between those classes, otherwise than by prolonging the protection against those articles which still are made in England for the German market by men who consume the English agricultural produce, and reject the German. Dr. Bowring insists that the German agriculturist can only look for an increased sale of his produce to foreign countries. However, that a great demand for agricultural products is created by the prosperity of national manufactures, is a fact which we learn not only from the experience of England, but which Dr. Bowring himself implicitly admits, by the fear expressed in his report, that if England much longer delays the repeal of her Corn Law, Germany will neither have corn nor timber to spare for England. The Doctor is perfectly right when he says that the agricultural is the preponderant interest of Germany, but precisely because it preponderates it ought to end-avor, by improving the manufacturing interest, to place itself in a fair balance with that interest, since not upon a superiority over the manufacturing interest, but upon an equilibrium therewith, the prosperity of agriculture depends.

The reporter's observation, that in Germany public opinion favors free trade, must be taken subject to this correction, that since the establishment of our Zoll Verein we have arrived at a clearer insight of what is really meant in England by the term "free trade"; for since that time, as he himself says, "the Zoll Verein has brought the sentiment of German nationality out of the regions of hope and fancy into those of positive and material interests." The reporter is right in his belief that knowledge is widely spread among the Germans. It is precisely for that reason that in Germany people have ceased to indulge in cosmopolitan dreams; they recollect their First—they trust to their own judgment, to their own experience, to their own sound common sense, rather than to faulty systems in contradiction with all experience—they begin to comprehend why Burke confidentially warned Adam Smith that countries were not to be governed according to cosmopolitan views, but by knowledge founded on searching investigations of their peculiar national interests; they distrust counsellors who blow hot and cold with the same mouth; they very well know how to estimate the value as well as the advice of manufacturing competitors; in a word, whenever there is any question about offers from England, they recollect the well-known caution, and say—"We distrust the Greeks, even their presents."

On those grounds there is reason to doubt that any really influential Germans could seriously hold out hopes to the reporter of the abandonment of our protective policy, for the wretched concession of being enabled to export some corn and timber to England. At any rate, public opinion in Germany will, doubtless, scruple to class such influential persons among the thinking part of the population. To be entitled to that attribute in the present day in Germany, it is not enough to have learned by rote the history, the phraseology, and the arguments of the cosmopolitan school; what is required is to know the faculties and the wants of the nation, and, unencumbered by the system of any school, to consider how those can be unfolded, those satisfied. A thorough ignorance of the faculties and wants of the country is betrayed by persons who are not aware of the immense efforts that have been required to elevate the industry of a nation to that station which the German manufacturing interest now occupies, who have not sagacity to anticipate the greatness of its future prosperity, who would so cruelly deceive the confidence which the German manufacturers have placed in their Governments, and so deeply wound the enterprising spirit of the nation, who cannot distinguish the important difference between a manufacturing nation of the first rank, and a mere corn and timber exporting country, who are incapable of perceiving how precarious a foreign corn and timber market is even in ordinary times, how easily concessions may be revoked, and what convulsions might result from the interruption of that intercourse by a war or hostile measures; who, in fine, have not yet learned, from the example of other great states, how intimately the existence, the independence, and the power of a nation are connected with the possession of a manufacturing system of its own, developed in all its branches.

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